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ABSTRACT

Multicultural education and multiculturalism have emerged in the post-1989 era as important movements intended as a means of explaining and understanding today's pluralistic societies. Problematic is the ubiquitous usage of the term, as well as the fact that multiculturalism and multicultural education have different meanings and usage in the United States and Europe. In Europe, and in particular southeastern Europe (SEE) multiculturalism rests on varying interpretations and definitions, distinct from those found in the United States. The paper focuses on uncovering how multicultural education might be used as a vehicle for changing attitudes and perceptions held on the part of citizens. It also can be seen as a movement toward educating students in SEE, particularly in the Balkans, about respecting diversity which appears to be a necessity, as individuals need to acquire the ability to comprehend that differences do not necessarily have to be accompanied by negative characterizations. For the purpose of this paper, multiculturalism is understood as the realization and awareness that people are living in a multicultural, interdependent, global world that necessitates that individuals understand and comprehend peoples of other cultures, religions, and political systems so that they can be effective members of their own society. The paper discusses what multicultural education means in practice, multicultural societies in SEE and multicultural education, multicultural education and democracy where they intersect, and how educators know when they are achieving their goals. Includes 18 notes. (BT)

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MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION AND DEMOCRATIC ENHANCEMENT

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Introduction: Problems of Definition

Multiculturalism and particularly multicultural education have emerged in the post-1989 era as important movements intended to supply a means of explaining and understanding today's pluralistic societies. Problematic is the ubiquitous usage of the terms, and the fact that both multiculturalism and multicultural education have different meanings and usages in the USA and Europe. Multiculturalism for example, has been defined as a condition, as a set of principles, and even as a policy, depending upon the author's usage.[1] In the USA, multicultural education has been adopted as a means by which to incorporate individuals and groups who were previously left out of the educational curriculum, particularly minority groups of color, the underprivileged, etc. Within the USA, one can draw attention to a considerable number of authors concerned with the adaptation of multicultural educational practices.[2]

In Europe, and in particular southeastern Europe (henceforth SEE) which this paper will focus on, multiculturalism likewise rests on varying interpretations and definitions, distinct from those found in the USA. Multiculturalism in SEE is used to address concerns such as: migration and immigration; the mobilization of religious minorities from east to west, particularly the movement of Muslims towards the west; minority groups such as the Roma minority, and their peripheral social, political and economic status vis-à-vis the mainstream culture; and issues relating to diverse linguistic groups now inhabiting the same nation-state. Discussions of multicultural education, where found in SEE, have addressed issues of reforming history curriculum, educating educators, and reforming universities. However, much less discussion has taken place in this region as to how to adopt the principles and practices of multiculturalism and multicultural education and to use these as a means by which to assist these societies found in SEE in their transition to democracy and its consolidation. Therefore the focus of this paper will be to uncover how multicultural education might be used as a vehicle for changing attitudes and perceptions held on the part of citizens. A movement towards educating students in SEE and particularly in the Balkans concerning respect for diversity appears to be a necessity, as individuals have to acquire the ability to comprehend that differences do not necessarily have to be accompanied by negative characterizations. Too often one finds that the peoples of the Balkans have been taught to despise their neighbors simply because they speak a different language, or because they are of another

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religion. Few if any purposeful attempts were made on the part of communist governments to teach their populations about the ways in which to view diversity. Thus these populations have emerged in the post-communist era with little or any knowledge about how to confront and accept diversity. This however, appears to be a necessary prerequisite for their future peaceful co-existence.

For the purpose of this paper, multiculturalism is understood as the realization and awareness that we are living in a multicultural, interdependent, global world that necessitates us to understand and comprehend peoples of other cultures, religions, and political systems so that we can be effective members of our own society.[3] Furthermore, if we wish to confront and find solutions to international issues such as world peace, the environment and pollution, public health, corruption and the like, we must acquire the knowledge and skills which multicultural education attempts to provide all citizens with to be effective members of a democratic, pluralistic society.[4]

Multicultural Education: What it Means in Practice

Multicultural education like the term multiculturalism, is a slippery phrase, and has numerous definitions. For purposes here, Paul Gorski's working definition of what multicultural education is about best suits a discussion of how this can be applied in SEE. He states that:

> Multicultural education is a progressive approach for transforming education that holistically critiques and addresses current shortcomings, failings, and discriminatory practices in education. It is grounded in ideals of social justice, education equity, and a dedication to facilitating educational experiences in which all students reach their full potential as learners and as socially aware and active beings, locally, nationally, and globally. Multicultural education acknowledges that schools are essential to laying the foundation for the transformation of society and the elimination of oppression and injustice.[5]

It is imperative that the essential tenets of multicultural education be adopted in a discussion of how this form of education can be utilized in SEE. The choice of curriculum, the classroom environment, and a student-centered pedagogy need to be examined to comprehend what multicultural education means in practice. Each of these areas of multicultural education will be discussed here briefly, drawing on the experience of their adaptation in a multicultural environment at a small American liberal arts college located in SEE.[6]

The selection of materials, that is the curriculum, is perhaps the starting point when deciding to adopt a multicultural educational pedagogy. Materials selected need to be approachable, understandable, and relevant to the students in the classroom. Prerequisite is that the instructor has knowledge of the cultural background of the students in the classroom, and is prepared to bring to life the curriculum in the classroom by utilizing and drawing upon the experiences and background of the students. This in turn allows the classroom instructor to create a classroom environment that is inclusive rather than exclusive. The instructor needs to set down the rules of conduct in the first class meeting, emphasizing important principles such as respect for diversity, common courtesies about listening to one another, and open-mindedness. Utilizing techniques such as the open-ended question, promoting learning from peers by asking for volunteers to participate and share experiences, and

trying to incorporate into class discussions as many diverse opinions and experiences that are found among the student composition of the class, can be extremely helpful.[7] Classroom practices such as group work or working in pairs can likewise be adopted, but caution and sensitivity is required on the part of the instructor so as not to pair up students who initially may not be tolerant of one another.[8] One has to meet the challenge of diffusing potential conflicts that will arise in the classroom, and recognize that there will be conflicting points of view. Emphasis needs to be placed on the realization that there will be differing opinions in a multicultural classroom, and that this is a natural phenomenon. The best solution for conflict resolution in the classroom may be by letting the students listen to each other, and have them defend their point of view, relying on facts and verifiable evidence, as opposed to stereotypes and hearsay.

A final component of multicultural education pertains to developing a student centered pedagogy, whereby the instructor begins from the student's point of view and experiences and works back to the concepts that are intended for explanation. One can not simply discuss key concepts in political science, for instance, without inserting examples which students will have some knowledge of. In a classroom environment in SEE, where students have emerged from a non-democratic political culture, one can not assume that they are aware of notions such as civil society, interest group politics, and other political concepts and practices as are found in the USA and in consolidated and mature democratic political systems. The classroom instructor's heightened awareness of these nuances avoids students feeling either isolated or inferior. The ideal classroom has no more than twenty-five students, so as to afford all the students the opportunity to participate. The classical technique of lecturing to a large audience of students is incompatible with student-centered learning, and runs counterproductive to the goals of multicultural education, although remaining important in other educational settings.

Ultimately the goals of multicultural education are to enhance critical thinking skills among students, and to improve their communicative skills, both verbal and written. Multicultural education likewise aids students in placing their familiar cultural practices in a global context, to compare and contrast their observations with others and eradicate stereotypes, and ultimately to broaden their educational experiences. Arguably, multicultural education is a process that is continuous, and allows knowledge to be personally relevant for the student. Multicultural education gives students the opportunity to learn about other cultures with differing values and views, often challenging their own, but opening the avenues for inquiry and auspiciously facilitating understanding and acceptance of others.

Multicultural Societies in SEE and Multicultural Education

The contemporary societies found in SEE are at present de facto multicultural. There are several types of minority groups found in the region, and distinguishing among these can be quite complex. As Panayote Elias Dimitras has described:

> There are ethno-national minorities (i.e., those who identify with the dominant nation of an adjacent nation state), like the more or less officially admitted and by now widely known Greeks in Albania and European Turkey, Turks in Bulgaria and Greece, and Albanians in Macedonia. There are also ethno-linguistic minorities, those with distinct identity but no affiliation to a cross-border "mother nation",

> such as the Roma (Gypsies) everywhere, the Aromanians (Vlachs) in all countries but Turkey, and the Arvanites (Albanian speakers) in Greece. Finally, there are religious minorities: a multitude of historically rooted or recently established non-Orthodox Christian communities in Bulgaria, Greece, and Macedonia; and non-Sunni Muslim communities in Albania and Turkey.[9]

Additionally, problems arise among these minority groups residing in the region when the state denies their existence, such as Bulgaria's refusal to admit that there is a "Macedonian" minority residing in Bulgaria, or when a minority is recognized with a different name, as in Greece with the Muslim minority in Western Thrace (they are not referred to as Turks).[10] Thus we witness the rise of pluralistic societies in SEE with diverse linguistic, religious and ethnic groups residing in the same state, some with dubious or contested borders. The states in the southern Balkans are not integrated states, but rather are still in the process of coming to terms with the human diversity that resides in their nation-state. These nation-states underwent dramatic demographic changes that altered their cultural composition in the post-1989 era, and now they must learn to live with this new reality.

History has a great deal to do with the fact that there remains intolerance and hatred among the groups residing in the Balkans, and a reconciliation process needs to occur before these groups can live together productively. Conceivably multicultural education can assist in this process to affect social change. Previously perceived enemies have now to learn to live as neighbors. Likewise multicultural education can be utilized to help the transition process to democracy and its consolidation, while assisting these societies to carve out their own national identities. Education, as one of the agents of political socialization, can be decisive in this process of changing attitudes and eradicating stereotypes.

Currently, there are a number of projects underway that are concerned with multiculturalism and education in SEE, and several of these are noteworthy. A Southeast Joint History Project was organized in 1998 by the Center for Democracy and Reconciliation in Southeast Europe, a non-governmental organization located in Thessaloniki, Greece, that organized history scholars throughout SEE to publish a volume entitled *Clio in the Balkans*. The joint history project brought history experts together stretching from Slovenia to Cyprus so as to assess the ways by which history teaching has taken place in this region. The result of seven workshops which brought these history experts together allowed communication to take place among scholars who exchanged views on the individual aspects of history teaching which were indicative of the past, the various traditions of history writing, and the formation of national, religious and cultural identities in these countries. Currently, this project is continuing with the production of new textbooks for the region, and although all are in agreement that some form of reformation is needed, the method of reformation is still undecided. What remains important, however, is that "[t]he ultimate goal of this concept of writing and teaching history is to promote mutual tolerance and understanding."[11] Therefore this project is one that particularly stands out as indicative of utilizing the main principles of multiculturalism within the educational arena of SEE to affect change in beliefs and attitudes among the citizens of this region through the teaching of history.

Another example of the application of the principles of multicultural education can be found in Romania, where several attempts have been made to reform the university

system both formally through state legislation, and by innovative suggestions by academics since 1989.[12] The case of the University of Cluj in Transylvania stands out as one that under the Ceausescu regime was closely monitored by the Romanian Communist Party whose members filled faculty and administrative positions. As Andrei Marga describes when discussing the legacy of communist rule in Romania within the university:

> Decisions regarding curricula, faculty appointments, and the like were completely centralized. Courses in such Marxist-Leninist staples as "dialectical materialism" and "scientific socialism" were mandatory, as were courses in the Romanian Communist Party (RCP) version of Romanian history. Official posts at all levels from departments on up were filled by RCP members. Electives were restricted, teaching and research were separated to an unprecedented degree, and empirical research in the social sciences was cut back or distorted for ideological reasons.[13]

Since 1989 there has been a movement in academia in Romania to reform the university system by applying the principles of multicultural education. One such reform has been allowing minority voices such as that of the Hungarians and Germans to be heard at all levels of decision making within the university, including increasing the number of courses taught in these languages. Thus a process of ethnic co-habitation has been attempted, whereby minority ethnic groups are portrayed as adding to cultural richness, thereby laying down a foundation for multiculturalism. Likewise there has been a general recognition that the curricula needs reform, although this is much more difficult to accomplish, since "ideological training" was the main task under communist rule, and traditional academics have a hard time reckoning with such dramatic changes to the contents of their courses. More frequent and substantive interaction with universities in the west has also been encouraged, either through formal cooperation agreements between universities such as those sponsored by the European Union (TEMPUS and ERASMUS, for example), or by informal exchanges among scholars and students from various universities in Europe and the USA. Romania signed the Bologna Declaration (1999), a document prepared by the Confederation of EU Rectors' Conferences and the Association of European Universities (CRE), signed by twenty-nine countries, that is "a commitment freely taken by each signatory country to reform its own higher education system or systems in order to create overall convergence at a European level."[14] Hence Romania illustrates a case where educational reform is committed to the principles of multicultural education, although clearly a great deal of time and perseverance is required before the system of higher education can be adequately revitalized.

Other projects that are underway in SEE concerned with multiculturalism and education include "Training-of-Trainers" workshops, begun in 2000, co-funded by the Open Society Institute and the Canadian International Development Agency, that have had as a goal the retraining of educators in SEE including assisting these young educators in evaluating and following up on training activities of a non-formal educational nature in a multicultural environment. Several non-governmental organizations in SEE have sponsored these workshops that are arenas for interaction and communication among young educators as to the ways to implement multicultural education in the classroom. Clearly teacher-training programs are vital for the success of multicultural education, particularly in SEE where traditional educational practices have been the norm, and exposure to other alternative educational schemas are unknown.

Multicultural Education and Democracy: Where They Intersect

Having established the importance of multicultural education as a pedagogical tool, one can further explore how multicultural education can assist in enhancing democracy, particularly where, as in SEE, it is under construction. It is important to stress at the start that both multicultural education and democracy are ongoing processes, and share similar missions, in that several of their basic principles include respect for cultural pluralism, equity and equal treatment, citizenship rights for all, free and open expression, participation and entitlement.[15] However, before exploring where the rudiments of multicultural education and democracy overlap, a brief explanation about the transition to democracy since 1989 in SEE is crucial.

What distinguishes the countries of SEE in their transition to democracy after the collapse of communism has been the topic of discussion among scholars concerned with the democratic project. Several observers and scholars have stressed that communism was debilitating both mentally for those who lived under it, as well as economically and politically stifling.[16] Not only did these countries lack a market economy and other features of economic liberalism, they were stripped of the social component required for a healthy democracy, such as a robust civil society, the notion of a common good and shared values, and a public spirit. In other words, the citizens in SEE who have emerged from communism and who now are trying to build some version of democracy at home, lack the socio-cultural prerequisites that a democracy needs so as to thrive. As Ghia Nodia has rightly observed: "The communists laid down roads, erected hydroelectric plants, and the like, but they killed (or tried their best to kill) the human capacity for autonomous action."[17] Thus in the postcommunist era, these societies are faced with the dilemma of building up not only the economic and political structures needed for a democratic system, but face the much more laborious, protracted and arduous task of changing minds. Here is where multicultural education may be utilized as a vehicle to assist the citizens of these postcommunist societies in adopting the ideological, moral and ethical mandates that democracy requires for its successful implementation. The human resources of these societies need to be redirected, and education, as an important agent of political socialization, can be vital in shaping the new generation's thoughts and attitudes, allowing them to comprehend the fruits and advantages that cultural pluralism can provide, rather than emphasizing the atrocities that these groups committed against each other in the past.

Thus a distinct characteristic of SEE and particularly the Balkans has been that these diverse ethnic, linguistic and cultural groups have been enemies for centuries, and much bloodshed has been witnessed among them. The dual goal that multicultural education has to serve is then to teach respect for diversity and replace hatred with mutual understanding, while at the same time teaching young people what it means to be a citizen in a democratic society. Both of these momentous and essential tasks can be accomplished, at least partially, by constructing some form of multicultural education that is geared towards addressing these issues by firstly admitting that they exist, and then by attempting to reconcile diverse groups so as to allow them to overcome animosities and learn to live with one another peacefully and eventually productively.

When making a connection between multicultural education and the transition to democracy in the societies of SEE, the intersecting principles that both share as mentioned above, such as the recognition of cultural pluralism, equity, participation, and entitlement, are the points where these two processes meet, and warrant here further elaboration. Both living in a plural society and one that is democratic requires one to be capable of conflict resolution, critical thinking, and compromise. These are some of the skills that multicultural education provides citizens with, along with the ability to synthesize and come to agreement, even if this means "agreeing to disagree" about political and social issues.

Furthermore, democratic societies are those characterized by social cohesion and are integrated, where citizen's have arenas available for autonomous activity. One needs only to list the number of interest groups in the USA for example, to uncover the varying and diverse forms of interest group formation in American society. The societies of SEE need to embark on a similar activity, to create a sense of public, common spirit which will allow them to uncover their common goals of a decent life, a rewarding job, and most importantly, a peaceful future. In other words, they need to build up a civil society that will act as a layer of citizen involvement and participation. Multicultural education is a pedagogical tool that can act as a propeller promoting commonalities, since when students from diverse socio-cultural backgrounds are asked what kind of a future they hope for, strikingly similar answers are given: they want a decent standard of living; they hope to land a productive and lucrative job; they want a peaceful environment to raise their children; and they are tired of fighting and war. By promoting commonalities and allowing for exchanges among diverse groups so that stereotypes are replaced with facts and personal experiences, a more democratic and congenial society is formed, one that is integrated, where citizens respect one another and acknowledge their differences as acceptable, and eventually learn that they may be even desirable as well.

Therefore teaching about multiculturalism and teaching about democracy are complementary, and there is a natural association between these two processes that comes to the surface upon investigation. When you teach in a multicultural classroom and employ the pedagogical tools therein related, you are utilizing democratic principles. When you ask your students in class to provide examples for conflict resolution, you are giving them the opportunity to learn about others, to compromise, and reach agreements. When you encourage all your students to participate and contribute to class discussions and get the majority to agree, you are teaching that democracy is achievable. When you teach that education is for and about everyone, you are utilizing the democratic notions of inclusion and community. And when you ask what the other choices are -- resurrecting communism, adopting an alternative non-democratic form of government -- the answer unanimously is that there is no going back, and another solution, other than creating some democratic form of government, is neither desirable or possible.

In SEE where democracy is being built from scratch, and where the legacy of communism hangs heavy, adopting multicultural education requires that institutional reforms taking place include that of the national educational system. Decision-makers need to be convinced of the importance and relevance of multicultural education for the future of democracy in their countries, and this is a task that requires the support of many actors, both local and international, who have a great deal of

influence in policy-making. Local educators need to be taught the relevance of multicultural education for the future of democracy in their countries, and should be prepared to meet the challenges that will lay ahead in adopting these practices. Too often the people of the Balkans have been disillusioned as to the difficulties of building democracy at home, and this has resulted in lack of faith in their politicians and relative deprivation among a large percentage of the population. Citizens were irresponsibly told that democracy would come quick and easy. But "crafting democracy takes skill that comes from knowledge and experience, and the postcommunist elites had neither."[18] Conflict is inherent in multicultural education, just as it is in democracy. However, only by confronting conflict and differences can progress occur. This now has to be understood as a reality in SEE.

Conclusion: How Do You Know You Are Achieving Your Goals?

One might rightfully inquire how does one assess the results of employing multicultural education, that is, how do you know that you are achieving your goals? This assumes firstly, that you have premeditated as to what you believe the ultimate goals of multiculturalism are. Clearly as mentioned above, one of the goals of multicultural education in SEE is to make democratic ideals more meaningful so that the transition and consolidation of democracy in those countries can occur more rapidly and effectively. Likewise, this form of education is an important pedagogical tool assisting conflict resolution in multicultural societies that have been indicative of malevolence and hostility. Ultimately the goal is to help maintain peace by making young people ethnically and culturally literate. If these diverse ethnic, linguistic and religious groups are to live together in peace, their attitudes and values about each other need clarification. Educators need to aspire to instill in students in this region a sense that they can make a difference, therefore personal empowerment should be a priority goal. Inevitably, educators need to continuously assist students in their personal development, and much of this may occur outside of the classroom in other educational activities and venues. In the end, assessing whether intended goals have been achieved is subjective, and varies widely depending upon the instructor and the students. One needs to be realistic and not overly optimistic that the goals of multicultural education will be seen overnight. Changing attitudes and opinions is one of the most difficult tasks to accomplish, and the results of one's efforts is not seen immediately. How this author has evaluated the effects of multiculturalism in a college in SEE where she teaches courses in political science, is revealed in the following observations.

When I see one of my Greek students in our college cafeteria help a student from Skopje with her Greek language homework, and recall the passionate debate they exchanged in my class the previous semester about who has the right to use the term "Macedonia," I feel that a multicultural educational environment can achieve positive results. With these two students with diametrically opposing views about an important issue such as that of state self-identification, it took just one semester of an introduction to political science course to help them re-evaluate their attitudes about each other. After residing to listen to one another's point of view on the issue in class discussions, and concluding that they had opposing points of view, they accepted firstly that there can be differing points of view, and that each had a right to express their view. Once other students in class joined in the discussion, and I was able to move the level of discourse in the class from a personal to an impersonal level by

interjecting concepts such as the right to statehood, sovereignty, and self-identification, the two students were able to self-access their views in comparison with students with differing views. What started out as a shouting match ended in a list of possible compromises and solutions to use of the name "Macedonia," that I listed on the board based on students' suggestions. The satisfaction with having positively affected at least two college students who had previously expressed the most blatant ethnocentric points of view, made the extra effort on my part appear indeed worthwhile.

Finally, on a personal note, I sat back and watched at the reception following commencement at the college this June as my students congratulated each other on finally completing their course of studies at the college. I could not help but notice the warm embraces and good wishes they exchanged when the ceremony came to an end and the celebration began. It was a moment when all the graduating students at the college, irrespective of country of origin, celebrated together their common joy and sense of achievement of being awarded a university degree. I moved through the crowds and saw students being photographed together and introducing their parents to one another, many of whom under different circumstances would have perceived each other as enemies. I knew that many parents of students had traveled long distances to hear their child's name called and to see them receive their degree. As I returned to my car to drive back home, a great sense of personal satisfaction overtook me, as I felt that I was partially responsible for influencing these young people and providing them the opportunity to learn about each other and themselves. I left that evening hoping that these young people would return home and act as human transmitters of the democratic principles and multiculturalism they had been taught. Perhaps some of these students would become future leaders back home and make a real difference. In any case, I relished in the moment, and thought all the more how worthwhile my efforts had been.

Endnotes

[1]See for example, J.L. Kincheloe and S.R. Steinberg (1997) *Changing Multiculturalism,* New York: Open University Press. See also Geneva Gay, "A Synthesis of Scholarship in Multicultural Education," http://www.ncrel.org/sdrs/areas/issues/educatrs/leadrshp.

[2]For example see the work of J. Banks, C. Bennett, R. Garcia, G. Gay, M. Gibson, C. Grant, and C. Sleeter.

[3]See Jamie S. Wurzel, *Multiculturalism and Multicultural Education,* http://www.housing.colostate.edu/halls/resources/manual/Multicultural.

[4]See Ann Intili Morey, "Changing Higher Education Curricula for a Global and Multicultural World," (2000) *Higher Education in Europe,* 25:1, pp. 25-40.

[5]Paul Gorski, (2002) "Multicultural Supersite," http://www.mhhe.com/socscience/education/multi/define.html

[6]The author teaches at a small American liberal arts college located in Thessaloniki, Greece, where approximately half of the students majoring in History and International Relations since 1997 are non-Greek. The cultural composition of the non-Greek student cohort is from the countries of the southern Balkans (primarily from the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Albania, Bulgaria and Serbia), and the college hosts a student abroad program with the USA where 30 to 40 students come for a semester or more to study at the college. The other non-Greek students are from all over the world. All the courses are taught in English.

[7]In a class discussion concerning the idea of political participation in a democratic society, I called upon students to first volunteer what their experiences of political participation in their home country had been. An Albanian student referred to the stress that was given in elementary school of spying on fellow students to make sure that all were supporting the communist party. A female student from Skopje recalled being one of Tito's "Pioneers," while a Bulgarian student told the class how she and her elementary-aged friends picked potatoes in the fields in the morning before class for the "motherland." A student from the USA spoke of how she was a girl scout, and explained to the students in the class what that entailed. In the end, the students were able to share their past experiences with their classmates, and I as the instructor used that as a gateway for an explanation as to what political participation entails in a democratic political system. This led the way to explain what citizenship in such a democratic society implies as well.

[8]I once unknowingly paired up a Kosovar with a Serbian, and then selected other students for each, who were not historical enemies.

[9]Panayote Elias Dimitras, "Southern Discomfort: Minorities Despise Minorities, and the Hatred is Often Mutual," *War Report,* Greek Helsinki Monitor, January/February 1997.

[10]The Moslem inhabitants of Western Thrace were excluded from the compulsory population exchanges that the Lausanne Peace Conference (1923) outlined, and were thereafter referred to as the Muslim minority. The Treaty of Lausanne makes no mention of ethnic or national minorities, nor does it list Greece's obligations to its minorities. See Ronald Meinardus, "Muslims: Turks, Pomaks and Gypsies," in Richard Clogg, ed. (2002) *Minorities in Greece: Aspects of a Plural Society*, London: Hurst & Co.

[11]Christina Koulouri, "Introduction," *Clio in the Balkans,* Center for Democracy and Reconciliation in Southeast Europe, printed by Petros Th. Ballidis & Co., Thessaloniki, 2000, p. 35.

[12]See Andrei Marga, "Guidelines for the Reform of Education," *Higher Education in Europe,* 24:1, 1999.

[13]Andrei Marga, "Reforming the Postcommunist University," *Journal of Democracy,* 8:2, 1997 p.160.

[14]*The Bologna Declaration on the European Space for Higher Education*, Bologna 1999, http://europedu.org.

[15]See Geneva Gay, "The Relationship Between Multicultural and Democratic Education," *Social Studies,* Jan/Feb 1997, 88:1, pp. 5-11.

[16]See Valerie Bunce, "Comparing East and West," in (2002) *Democracy After Communism,* Larry Diamond and Marc Plattner eds. Baltimore, Maryland: John Hopkins University Press, pp. 18-32.

[17]Ghia Nodia, "How Different are Postcommunist Transitions?" in (2002) *Democracy After Communism,* Larry Diamond and Marc Plattner eds., Baltimore, Maryland: John Hopkins University Press, p. 12.

[18]Ghia Nodia op. cit., p. 14.

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